

The (Dis)engaged Youth

How youth in Dar es Salaam engage in politics

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“It should be clear that ‘youth’ is not seen as a unified entity with a collective consciousness in pursuit of clearly defined objectives” (Van Zyl Slabbert, Malan, Marais, Olivier, Riordan 1994: 15)

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Abstract

This master's thesis analyzes youths' political engagement in Dar es Salaam. The thesis aims to explore youths' current situation in Tanzania and connect it to their degree of political engagement. The research also explains different ways of how youth can engage in politics, as well as why they may not engage in politics.

Youth in Tanzania live challenging lives characterized by the lack of education, high unemployment rates, and poverty. Dar es Salaam is the city with the highest proportion of youth in the country, and is therefore an interesting case study for the chosen topic. Theories that explain youths' situation by recognized researchers such as Alcinda Honwana (2012) and Mamadou Diouf (1996) will be applied in this thesis. Honwana has done extensive research on youth in Africa, which includes their life situation as well as their relationship to politics, while Diouf has published research concerning youth and political engagement, which includes how youth can be inhibited from participating in politics. Alex Perullo's (2005) research focusing on youth identity and hip-hop in Dar es Salaam will also be applied.

Empirical data have been collected during fieldwork conducted in Dar es Salaam, which has shown to be essential to the understanding of the context that youth live and engage within. Data from the thirty-one interviews that were collected are used throughout the thesis, and helps illustrate the youths' reality. The findings reveal a complex reality.

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I declare that I take responsibility for any faults or defects in this study.

Ingvild Schei Jacobsen

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Abbreviations

AIDS- Acquired immune deficiency syndrome

CCM- Chama cha Mapinduzi

CHADEMA- Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo

CUF- Civic United Front

GDP- Gross domestic product

HIV- Human immunodeficiency virus

MDG- Millennium development goal

NBS- National Bureau of Statistics

NCCR MAGEUZI- National Convention for Construction and Reform- Mageuzi

NER- Net Enrolment Rate

NGO- Non governmental organization

TAA- Tanganyika African Association

TANU- Tanganyika National Union

1 Introduction

Alex Perullo (2005:75) describes and discusses an anonymous letter sent to the newspaper *The East African* in 1999 in his article *Hooligans and Heroes: Youth Identity and Hip-Hop in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania*. The letter depicted youth as a time bomb due to lack of job opportunities after the economic liberalization, while drug dealing and crime were on the rise. Youth were angry and restless. It was argued that places in Tanzania, like Dar es Salaam, were social time bombs, and that young people had to use any means available to survive the various pressures of living in Tanzania (The East African 1999 in Perullo 2005: 75).

The youth bomb has yet to explode in Tanzania. The fifteen-year-old letter still seems relevant today, and maybe especially in Dar es Salaam. Perullo's (2005:76) depiction is accurate also for the present time: "In examining the pressures that youth encounter daily, it may seem logical to assume that youth are on the verge of exploding through violence and disorder."

However, it does not seem likely that a youth bomb will explode according to the current situation. Even though youth are facing difficult lives that lack employment opportunities, income, education or any form of safety net, they are not angry. The thirty-one interviews I managed to conduct during my fieldwork in Dar es Salaam reveals a complex reality with as many different approaches and views on the current Tanzanian situation and politics, as people who were interviewed.

During interviews youth revealed their thoughts, wishes and needs concerning unfairness, corruption, lack of employment, and other societal challenges. These youth live in a developing democracy, and therefore I wanted to find out if the youth uses the opportunities that exist within a democratic system to affect their future. Do they channel their thoughts about unfairness and their hopes of a better future into constructive politics?

Dan Banik (2010:111) highlights that the participation of the poor, including youth, in politics in a majority of developing countries, does not reflect their numbers in society. He claims that many of the people who are categorized as poor, are either excluded from politics, or do not participate actively in politics for another reason. He elaborates (Banik 2010:111-112),

Herein is an interesting dilemma. A large majority of the population in developing countries find it difficult to earn enough money for daily survival. It seems logical that if these poor groups exercised their freedom to vote in a unified and constructive manner, then they would enjoy substantial influence over government policy. However, several studies have shown that the poor do not vote according to their economic status. Indeed, when the poor participate in the political process, their “class” identities often exist together with other conflicting identities. These range from ethnic, linguistic and regional ties to individual patronage ties to specific political parties and their leaders. This means that voting trends among the poor reveal a fragmented picture.

Banik points out an interesting phenomenon, which seems to be valid also in Tanzania. This example shows that different aspects, such as culture, can affect behavior and engagement. During an interview with an engaged young woman she mentioned that a lot of youth support the political opposition until Election Day, but when the Election Day comes they vote for the party that has ruled the country since independence, Chama cha Mapinduzi. The nationalistic history of the ruling party together with its strong presence in the urban landscape of Dar es Salaam can make it difficult to vote for an opposition party.

This thesis aims to focus on youth in Dar es Salaam and their political engagement, within a broader context. To be able to understand youths’ political engagement, it is also necessary to understand their current life situations, with all the challenges they encounter on a daily basis.

It is important to emphasize that youth may engage in politics in different ways. However, it should also be underlined that youth are inhibited from participating in politics in different ways.

In order to include these different aspects in this thesis, I have chosen to apply Alcinda Honwana’s research on youth and waithood. Honwana has conducted extensive research on youths’ situation in Africa. She has mapped out youths’ life situation and termed it waithood, which she defines as “a prolonged and uncertain stage between childhood and adulthood that is characterized by their inability to enter the labor market and attain the social markers of

adulthood” (Honwana 2012:19). I find this term, and Honwana’s research, aptly applicable to the Tanzanian context. The theory provides us with a better understanding of the broader context that young people are situated in, including the current and historical political landscape in Tanzania.

To better understand youths’ political engagement three specific ways of engagement have been emphasized in this thesis. Perullo’s (2005) previous research on youth identity and hip-hop in Dar es Salaam convinced me at an early stage in the research process to take a closer look at youths’ current relationship to political rap. Findings from fieldwork in Dar es Salaam made it natural to include social media as a means to engage in politics, in addition to traditional ways, such as political campaigns in the streets of Dar es Salaam.

However, it is not always easy for youth to engage in politics in Tanzania. Diouf (1996:225) claims that youths’ contributions has and can be rejected as a result of the African traditions that uphold rules and expectations of submissive behavior from the young towards the elders”. In addition Honwana (2012:118) states, “Young people’s perception is that politics offers them no space for real participation”. In Tanzania elders are seen as wise and knowledgeable people that often act as local leaders. This may imply that youth has to challenge the elders to make space for them in politics, which can affect youths’ political participation negatively. Therefore, culture has been included as phenomenon that may inhibit political interest and engagement among youth in Dar es Salaam.

Another aspect to how youth may be inhibited can be found in Ingram, Schneider, and deLeon’s (2007) theory of social constructed groups, which claims that social groups possess different degrees of political impact. The last point to highlight how youth can be inhibited is the frightening consequences that may arise as a result of political engagement, which became clear to me during fieldwork in Dar es Salaam.

This master’s thesis draws out the understanding and overview of youths’ situation in Dar es Salaam as well as their political participation, which I have obtained as a result of one year of hard work, including a three-month long fieldwork in Dar es Salaam. Previous experience from Dar es Salaam, as well as other parts of Tanzania, has contributed to strengthen the result of this master’s thesis.

1.1 Research question and hypothesis

King, Keohane, and Verba (1994:15) argue that a research question should be based on two criteria. The first criterion is that the research question should address a topic or question that is relevant and important in the real world. The second point is that the question should contribute to the academic literature and the academic field as a whole. These points are possible to combine under one research question (King et al. 1994:15).

The research question is; how do youth in Dar es Salaam engage in politics?

It should be emphasized that the thesis is party neutral and does not have any intention or interest in investigating youths' party preference.

The research question contributes to both points emphasized by King, Keohane and Verba (1994). The thesis can hopefully reveal an idea of how youth in Dar es Salaam views politics, and why they engage, or why they do not engage, which is useful knowledge for students, researchers, NGOs, political parties and other actors who influence society.

The research also contributes to the second criterion, because I have not found any previous study on this particular issue in Dar es Salaam.

When conducting research based on deductive theory, it is crucial to deduce a hypothesis based on what is known about the particular area of study, which will be subjected to empirical scrutiny (Bryman 2012:24).

The hypothesis is: Tanzanian youth has little engagement in politics due to cultural obstacles, limited access to media, low degree of political teaching in school, in addition to a challenging life situation.

Bryman (2012:24) emphasizes, "The social scientists must both skillfully deduce a hypothesis and then translate it into operational terms. This means that the social scientists needs to specify how data can be collected in relation to the concepts that make up the hypothesis."

My somewhat pessimistic hypothesis is based on the extremely difficult lives most youth in the poor country Tanzania goes through. Poverty brings with it aspects such as low income, therefore limited access to media, low quality of education due to lack of resources in the educational system, and difficult life situations. In addition, through my previous experience in Tanzania I have seen the submissive behavior youth have towards elders.

1.1.1 Justification for limitations of research

The African Youth Charter (2006:3) and the Tanzanian Government defines youth as people between fifteen and thirty five years of age (UNFPA 2013:3). It is only natural that the same definition will be applied in this thesis that is conducted in Tanzania. However, the definition has been further limited, and the interviews in the study have targeted youth between eighteen and thirty five years of age.

The reason why interviews with youth were limited from eighteen years of age and up to thirty five years of age, when the applied definition in this thesis is between fifteen and thirty five years of age (UNFPA 2013:3), is that the legal age in Tanzania is eighteen years, and thus I chose to regard people with less than eighteen years of age as children and teenagers in this research. The researcher needs to be extra cautious when including children in data collection. The parents of the children have to be informed, and they have to give their consent for their children to participate in the interviews. Even though the guidelines for Norwegian social researchers (De nasjonale forskningsetiske komiteene 2009) says that these factors apply only to children up to fifteen years of age, I am more comfortable leaving minors under eighteen years of age out of my research. Youngsters under eighteen years may not understand possible consequences of sharing information with a researcher.

Youth can also be defined as a social constructed group, which is not defined by age; a group who is made up of people who do not have the means or recognition to establish themselves as providers (Nolte 2004:62). Youth can be described as a transition between childhood and adulthood where an individual is “becoming rather than being” (Mo Ibrahim Foundation 2012:6). The period can be defined by the acquisition of social, economic and political autonomy and responsibility. A youth becomes an adult when he or she has gradually attained the role and responsibilities that are defined as adult (Mo Ibrahim Foundation 2012:6). During research I found it helpful to keep these definitions at the top of my head to help me develop an accurate understanding of the social group youth.

The recent consensus (National Bureau of Statistics, Ministry of Finance, Dar es Salaam, and Office of Chief Government Statistician, President’s Office, Finance, Economy and Development Planning Zanzibar 2013 b: Table 1.2) showed that 4,364,541 people live in Dar es Salaam. Dar es Salaam was the area with highest proportion of youth in the country with forty seven percent. I find these numbers applicable as a valid reason to conduct research on

youth in Dar es Salaam. The research includes twenty-three structured interviews, in addition to eight supplementary interviews that were conducted during three months of fieldwork.

1.2 Methodology

This thesis is a product of qualitative research. The reason why I chose a qualitative approach was to be able to capture the sensitivity, which is present both in their life situation as well as in the political situation. I needed to go into depth with fewer interview respondents to answer my research question.

I found it crucial to conduct fieldwork in Tanzania to obtain a valid inference to the research. The focus for this thesis is naturally limited case study, which is youth in Dar es Salaam, and I found that interviews and participatory observation were the most appropriate methods for data collection because of the constant presence I could have within the case. I am sure that the choice of methodology was essential to my understanding of the case, as well as the end result of the thesis.

An important aspect of research is its validity and reliability. Alan Bryman (2012:47) reviews validity in many ways as the most important criterion of research. He further defines validity as being “concerned with the integrity of the conclusions that are generated from a piece of research”.

Fieldwork has a fortunate ability to obtain validity. Throughout the fieldwork period the researcher will be exposed to routine face-to-face contact with people (interview/observation objects). The field is characterized by a continuous testing of hypotheses through the routines of daily life. This "method" is particularly sensitive to differences between the meanings assumed by the researcher and the meaning understood by the target audience for the program. This is one of the reasons why qualitative research has been dominant in anthropological studies of cultures, where it is obvious that the researcher draws assumptions about the meanings and situations at their own risk. This leads to a special sensitivity of the fieldwork, which causes the fieldwork possess certain types of validity (Kirk and Miller 1986:30-31).

Reliability is another important concept in research and is concerned with whether the results of a study are repeatable. Therefore, it is being emphasized that concepts in the social sciences

such as poverty or youth are consistent (Bryman 2012:46). According to Bryman (2012:168) “Reliability is fundamentally concerned with issues of consistency of measures”.

1.2.1 Fieldwork

Crang and Cook’s (2007) book "Doing Ethnographies" is relevant and appropriate while planning fieldwork. They warn, among other things, against a type of fieldwork they refer to as read-then-do-then-write method. They emphasize the importance of being prepared for surprises and unexpected situations. By mixing "reading, doing and writing" from the beginning of the fieldwork researchers will be best prepared for the challenges that may emerge during the research process (Crang & Cook 2007:17).

When a researcher initiates fieldwork, it is essential to develop contacts. Key contacts can be found in organizations, industry, and local communities. It is recommended to contact established researchers in the field, who may be willing to share experiences or relevant contacts (Crang & Cook 2007:17-19). I was lucky to be assigned Kjetil Tronvoll as my supervisor, who gave me good advice as a well-experienced researcher in Africa, including Tanzania.

When the researcher initiates access it is important to utilize her or his social network, or create new contacts and relations to get access to the area you want to explore in the field (Crang & Cook 2007:17-21). I am privileged to have previous fieldwork experience in Tanga, Tanzania from when I was writing my Bachelor’s thesis, in addition to have worked as a trainee at the Royal Norwegian Embassy in Dar es Salaam. As a result, I had a better foundation to build my research project on, and got in touch with all my respondents through the snowball effect.

However, do not expect every possible interviewee to respond. Rejection should never be taken personally. But, if the response is positive, a lot can depend on and be settled as a result of this (Crang & Cook 2007:17-21). Rejection can happen quite often in Tanzania, however, it is not always meant as a rejection. In Norway and the western world in general, it has become normal to establish contact through using email, especially when it comes to public or private employees. However, in Tanzania they have a different culture and emails are not always answered. It is therefore crucial to establish contact through meeting in person at the

office, or through a phone call. Also, it happened that interviewees did not show up for the appointment. As a result, fieldwork becomes time consuming.

As Crang and Cook (2007:23) points out, a researcher will deal with various challenges related to language before and during international fieldwork. Linguistic skills, abilities and opportunities are key elements in the research process. Language skills should be included in an assessment of where and with whom the research should be conducted (Crang & Cook 2007: 23). Due to previous research experience, I intended from the beginning of this research to use an interpreter while conducting interviews. I chose to work with an interpreter I have used in previous research. It gave me the certainty that I could trust that the interpreter understood my research and my way of working. The level of English among youth is generally not high enough for them to be able to share opinions and thoughts unlimited with me without an interpreter in an interview situation. However, when interviewing youth that had attended studies on university level it was not necessary to use an interpreter.

Crang and Cook (2007:26-27) present a final important preparation, which is to consider power relations, knowledge and ethics before fieldwork can commence. There are several things to be taken into account when making access in the field. This involves the researcher's position and apparent intentions that must be considered, as well as the researcher's responsibility towards the interviewees and how they are presented in the research project, how the project will be published and how the research may affect the interviewees life and future (Crang & Cook 2007:27). When taking on the role as a western researcher in the developing world, it is important to be aware and think about things such as how you dress during interview, how you behave, and the overall impression you give the interviewee. In the eyes of a youth in Dar es Salaam I have to know that I represent the western world. They have certain beliefs and thoughts about the western people and as the researcher I should at all times be aware of that.

I was also committed to respect the Tanzanian authorities and I was able to obtain all necessary permissions and public documents that approved research conducted in Tanzania.

1.2.2 Case study

In this research the case has been defined as youth living in Dar es Salaam for several reasons described under *1.1.1 Justification for limitation of research*.

When the term “case” is used it usually refers to a community, organization or location. A case often emphasizes that the setting has been exposed to an intensive examination. A case can be quantitative or qualitative research, however, researchers who use case study design tend to use qualitative methods. Unstructured interview and participant observation are commonly used in case studies because these methods are seen as particularly suitable in an intensive and detailed study of a case (Bryman 2012:68).

Gerring (2007:19) further claims “*Case* connotes a spatially delimited phenomenon (a unit) observed at a single point in time or over some period of time”. A case can be any phenomenon as long as two criteria are recognized. The first criterion is identifiable boundaries; while the second is that the main purpose should be an inference. Spatial boundaries are often more apparent, than temporal boundaries. Also, a case can include a single observation or multiple observations (Gerring 2007:19).

George and Bennett (2005:17-18) define a case “as an instance of a class of events. The term “class of events” refers here to a phenomenon of scientific interest, such as revolutions, types of governmental regimes, kinds of economic systems, or personality types that the investigator chooses to study with the aim of developing theory (or “generic knowledge”) regarding the causes of similarities or differences among instances (cases) of that class of events”.

1.2.3 Interviews and participant observation

Structured and semi-structured interview techniques were applied in the thirty-one interviews conducted during fieldwork. There were two reasons why structured interview was chosen; before entering the field it was clear that specific information was needed if the data collected could at a later stage be compared to other studies such as Alcinda Honwana’s (2012) studies. In addition, knowing that an interpreter would be necessary in majority of interviews, it felt safer to have the exact questions ready so they could be translated before the data collection started. In that way, the interpreter could be more prepared and thus it would be easier to

conduct a greater degree of similarity in the interviews. The structured interview techniques were applied in interviews with twenty-three youth in Dar es Salaam.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with interviewees who could give an overview of the youth situation, and help me draw the bigger picture. They could provide new information and opinions, which could connect the dots, and therefore they needed freedom to express their thoughts.

In both types of interviews I relied on interview guides. In structured interviews, the guide looked similar to a questionnaire, which can be found under *Appendix*. The interview guide for semi-structured interviews were a short list of talking points that could be relevant to bring up during the conversation. I did not record the interviews. Politics is a sensitive area, and the youth could feel restrained if they knew the interviews were recorded. Therefore, we took the time we needed during the interviews. I wrote as many accurate quotes as possible, which often resulted in silent pauses. However, in some interviews the silent moments had a positive effect on the youth that continued to elaborate their answers.

Another method that is frequently used in fieldwork is participant observation. By using this method the researcher achieves a higher degree of close contact with people over a longer period. Also, the researcher can develop a deeper understanding of society and social codes. By using participant observation, the researcher can see through others' eyes. It is an advantage to learn the language in order to understand the culture, including slang and local expressions. Method is associated with anthropology (Bryman 2004:338).

Interviews and participant observation can be combined in a research project, and it may be a necessity (Bryman 2004:339). However, the researcher should be aware of reactive effects that may occur during observation, which means that people are aware that they are being observed and as a result they behave less natural (Bryman 2004:340). Fortunately, Dar es Salaam is a big city, with crowded streets and marked places. Even though I am white, I do not think my presence affected people's conversations and behavior. I made observations in my everyday life regarding what I heard and saw happening in society around me, and I made notes along the way. I stayed in crowded and busy areas of Dar es Salaam where Tanzanians stay, and I avoided the international areas where expats stay. People got used to my presence, which gave me advantages in regards of research. This was clear after an incidence were the

local people protected me by chasing of a drunken person that tried to approach me on the street.

Some choices and interpretations that have been applied to the thesis have been made on the basis of participant observations, even if it is not emphasized explicitly. Participant observation has made a great contribution to my understanding of youths' reality, and it has made this thesis stronger.

During fieldwork oral information was given regarding "informed consent", as well as the interviewee's consent. The reason for this is previous research experience from the Tanzanian coastal city Tanga (Skogseth and Jacobsen 2012:18-19). At that time, we tried to use written consent, but experienced complications and misunderstanding. A question was raised at several occasions; they had to actually sign their name on the paper, however, that did not make sense since it was anonymous. It was therefore better to avoid the tense atmosphere that was created, and instead, use oral information.

Informed consent is essential in the relationship between the researcher and the research object. If the researcher has performed his or her duty to disclose informed consent the respondent knows that he or she is being investigated. He or she should also have been informed of the content of the research and he or she knows about his or her right to withdraw from the research at any time (Ryen 2004:231). In the field, this is not always straightforward, especially if the research deals with locals in a rural community in a developing country. It is by no means certain that they know what research is and what the consequences of research may be, and it is not necessarily so easy to be certain that they have a correct understanding after the researcher has provided an explanation of this.

1.3 Purpose of the study

I soon understood that the answer to my research questions is complex and it involves several different areas and challenges in society, but it also involves each individual's life story. It is difficult to summarize the whole context with all the relationships and connections and states that are involved in this limited master's thesis, however, some central aspects and areas have been picked out, based on the information discovered through academic literature as well as through interviews, as points of emphasis.

Honwana (2012) has managed to capture African youths' situation through her important and highly relevant research published in her book *The Time of Youth: Work, Social Change, and Politics in Africa*. The study focuses on young people in Africa and the challenges they encounter, and is applicable to Tanzanian youth as well. Honwana (2012:3) reasons her research by stating "The book focus on young people in Africa, where the marginalization of youth appears to be most serious". However, she emphasizes that her research is applicable around the globe. "Young people, in rich and poor countries alike, share the same concerns and aspirations and are beginning to assert their right as citizens" (Honwana 2012:3).

However, there are two things I would like to add to the field of research: (1) Honwana's research is conducted in Mozambique, Senegal, South Africa and Tunisia (Honwana 2012:xiii). I would therefore like to contribute to the field of research with a study conducted in Tanzania.

As a political science student, after reading Honwana and other scholars published studies, I am left with questions and thoughts regarding politics and democracy (2). Do the youth use the democratic system to voice their situation, hopes and opinions? In my study, I have therefore asked youth mainly in Dar es Salaam what they know about the democratic system, if they engage in politics, if they do or do not – why or why not? I want to merge Honwana's approach to the youths' situation with a political approach, so I can be able to give a valid inference to my research question.

Youth as a majority group in Tanzania can influence their futures by engaging in politics. But, one needs to know what a democracy is and how it works, to engage in politics. However, it should be emphasized that the Tanzanian democracy is currently defined as "partly free" (Freedom House n.d).

1.4 Structure of the study

In *chapter one*, I reason for the thesis' research question, which concerns youth in Dar es Salaam's political engagement, as well as why I chose the topic. I also explain how the research was conducted.

In *chapter two*, relevant background information concerning youths' current situation is given, as well as the state of the Tanzanian democracy. The Tanzanian democracy is

mentioned in an effort to draw a clearer picture of the political system that youth may engage in. *Chapter two* also addresses youths' political interest and links it to political knowledge.

Chapter three focuses on how youth can be inhibited from engaging in politics. There are several aspects to be discussed, such as hierarchical relationships rooted in culture, in addition to how the social constructed group referred to as youth, does not obtain the opportunity of major political impact, as well as the frightening consequences political engagement may cause.

Chapter four regards and discusses how youth may engage in politics in various ways. During fieldwork I found that rap music, social media, and traditional ways, such as street meetings, are three different ways youth in Dar es Salaam engage in politics and therefore they are the three ways that are picked out for elaboration in this thesis.

The final chapter, *chapter five*, constitutes of the conclusion to the challenging but interesting research project.

2 Youths' situation

During the interviews I asked all of the youth what they saw as their biggest challenge in life and I have to commend them on their honesty. They shared their gripping stories filled with problems and challenges. One youth in his mid-twenties answered my question, “My family. I have to take care of my family. My father died last year. I am the first born and have to take care of the young”. However, that is not an easy task for an unemployed youth.

Almost all of the youth mentioned income and money as a challenge, in addition to education and employment. Other things such as, disease (HIV), ignorance and moral support were also mentioned as challenges. A young mother said; “Life is too difficult, because I do not have a job or business, and I have a kid, so life gets difficult”.

When I asked one young man about his biggest challenge in life he expressed hopelessness when he told me about the employment situation,

To get a job. Even our political situation; Corruption is the problem. Even to get a job in this situation. Who you know, and what political party you are from. If you are from the opposition it is difficult. If you are from CCM it is very easy.

To get a job may be close to impossible for an average youth if we look at the statistics. The Tanzanian National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) has recently released numbers of employment in the formal sector that can help draw a picture of the current situation of job creation and unemployment, even though these statistics cannot be fully trusted. The total number of registered employees country wide within the formal sector in 2012 was 1,550,018 (National Bureau of Statistics, Ministry of Finance 2013 a: 23, Table 2.8). Dar es Salaam region had thirty three percent of the total workforce employed in the formal sector in 2012.

Currently, approximately 900,000 young people enter the job market every year. Only four percent of these youngsters have successfully completed education on secondary level (Mo Ibrahim Foundation 2012 in Restless Development n.d)¹. At the same time only 50-60,000 new jobs will be created in the formal sector each year (Government of Tanzania in Restless Development n.d).

¹ Note that I have not been able to find the information used in Restless Development's report in the original sources Mo Ibrahim Foundation 2012 and the Government of Tanzania.

In 2012 the number of total labor force on Mainland Tanzania for people aged fifteen years and above was estimated to be 22,754,122 (National Bureau of Statistics et. al 2013 b: table 1.1). Yet, only 1,550,018 were registered to work in the formal sector at the same time, which tells us that the numbers of workers in the informal sector and unemployed people are overwhelming (National Bureau of Statistics, Ministry of Finance 2013 a: 11).

Many young Tanzanians, as Africans in general, seek the streets in order to make a living. Youngsters, including both men and women, are seen along the streets selling fruit, cold drinks, prepaid telephone cards, and a variety of other goods. Young women engaged in the informal economy are mainly working as domestic workers, hairdressers, tailors or traders. However, some also end up engaging in prostitution, some migrate, or are even trafficked abroad. Some may also hold an informal job in a formal business (Honwana 2012: 47). In Dar es Salaam, it is not unusual to see young women barely dressed hanging out in the streets waiting for customers from around seven o'clock in the evening, when the sun goes down.

The term “informal sector” can be defined as “a heterogeneous group of activities and employment relationships that share one common characteristic- the lack of legal recognition, regulation or protection” (Lloyd-Evans 2008:1885). In the informal sector there are people who can be categorized as poor, but also people that makes more money than the minimum wage in the formal sector. The sector is a heterogeneous structure that consists of different types of businesses, including well organized, but also nearly not functioning businesses (International Labour Office, Governing Body, Committee on Employment and Social Policy 2000:2).

Young people today in Tanzania, and other countries, are not able to take their futures for granted (Honwana 2012:19). Employment opportunities are limited, and they do not know if efforts and hard work to attain an education will be rewarded (Honwana 2012:19-20). As a result they do not know when, if ever, they will be able to marry and provide for a family. Still, some youths establish families with this uncertain future, and many worry if they will be able to provide food and shelter for their partner and children. A young woman in Dar es Salaam who also was a single mother told me she still lived at home with her parents together with her children. However, she was not happy with the living and family situation; “it is too much for me and the children to stay home with my family, but I cannot afford to stay alone”.

A major contributor to the prolonged period of waitthood, defined by Honwana as previously mentioned, is the extremely high unemployment rates, in addition to underemployment amongst youth. Honwana (2012:46) writes,

Although the gross domestic product grew significantly in many countries in the early 2000s and the continent enjoyed in average annual growth rate of 6 percent in 2006, economic expansion did not translate into significant job creation and opportunities for young people.

She adds that any reliable youth unemployment statistics for African countries does not exist, and that the numbers that have been published give little insight to the critical situation youth find themselves in as a result of unemployment.

On the other hand, Tanzania has had a positive development in terms of education, and Mainland Tanzania is close to achieving the second Millennium Development Goal (MDG) of universal primary education with ninety five percent Net Enrolment Rate (NER) in primary education. Still, Tanzania is facing challenges in the field of education. Enrolment rates for secondary school show an increase from twelve percent in 2002, to sixty percent in 2006, but then fell to thirty five percent in 2011. In addition, the quality of the education is questionable after recent significant drops in the pass rate on national exams on both primary and secondary level (UNFPA 2013:3). The results from the Form Four examination, which were published during the spring of 2013, showed that sixty percent of 240.903 candidates, with the majority that went to public schools, failed (The Citizen 2013).

During fieldwork I talked to several young people who had graduated from university, however, I was surprised to find out that they were all unemployed. When I asked youth about their biggest challenge in life several youngsters told me it was easier to get a job if one had a good education; “Job, because of education. If you have a good education it is easier”. However, my observation supports Honwana (2012:51) who claims that the latest change is that well-educated youth are also affected by unemployment. Young people that have graduated from secondary school or universities do not necessarily obtain an advantage in securing a job. Honwana (2012:51) gives two reasons for this: they are vulnerable because of the poor quality of their education, in addition to the limitations of the labor market. She further says, “Rates of unemployment and underemployment among university graduates

have risen exponentially across the continent over the past decade. The increasing unemployment of well-educated youths, especially university graduates, signals the breakdown of the system” (Honwana 2012:51-52).

But, if educated youth are able to obtain a job, the challenge is often underemployment. A large number of employed youth hold jobs where they are never able to apply or utilize their level of education. They are often hired part time, paid very little, and have few opportunities for progression (Honwana 2012:52).

However, it is necessary to emphasize that youth in waithood are not seen as passive young people waiting for things to change. They are active and creative to find new ways of being interactive with society (Honwana 2012:4). Tanzanian youth travel far to attain an education or a job. The majority of youth I interviewed had not grown up in Dar es Salaam. One young man who was not from the big city told me that he only lived there to work so he could provide for his family, who lived far away from Dar es Salaam. He told me “Yes, I am happy with the family situation. I am not happy to live by myself, but it is necessary because of work”. He went home to visit his family every sixth month. When one of his children was born, he had to wait several months to go home to visit his wife, children and to meet the newest member of the family.

Honwana (2012:29) brings up a valuable point of discussion,

One of the classic questions frequently posed to children and young people is: What would you like to be when you grow up? The ways in which young people think about, envision, and plan for the future reflect their relationship with time, their age and stage of development, and their social environment, all of which are shaped by societal pressures.

For African youth, a solution to the numerous challenges and problems they experience in their everyday life is to live in the present. Honwana (2012:30) explains this,

In such situations young Africans cannot afford the luxury of dreaming about what they would like to be when they grow up; rather, the issue is whether they will go to

bed hungry. For them, the future is today, and the next day, and the next, taking one day at a time.

However, during fieldwork I asked twenty-three youth if they had a plan for the future, and twenty-two answered yes. The follow-up question asked what the plan involves and gave them response options. They could include up to all options in their answer. Twenty-one answered that a job was included in their plan, seventeen said school was a part of their plan, also seventeen answered marriage, fifteen said children, and sixteen said buying a house. However, no one answered, “I do not know”.

Even though Honwana (2012:19) may be right when she claims that youth cannot take their futures for granted, people were still quite optimistic about their future. But, maybe the youths’ plans were more similar to dreams than realistic plans, meaning that Honwana may also be right (2012:30) when she claims that youth can often focus on today and tomorrow as their future due to the numerous challenges they are facing in their everyday life.

According to Honwana (2012:4) “Waithood represents the contradictions of modernity, in which young people’s opportunities and expectations are simultaneously broadened and constrained”. Youth becomes more globally integrated through new technology, which has simplified access to information and communication. Honwana (2012:4) elaborates; “Youth relate to local social structures² and cultural patterns, but they are also connected to global culture via mobile telephones, cyberspace, television, and advertising”. Simultaneously, they are constrained by the lack of basic resources as a result of political repression, epidemics and unsound socioeconomic policies (Honwana 2012:4).

However, youth in Africa is affected differently by waithood. Some become adults while still having the biological age of a child because of serious events forcing them to grow up and take responsibility. It can be that parents have passed away and the oldest children have to take care of their youngest siblings, or maybe the children are forced to work in order for the family to have enough food on the table. At the same time, waithood is also different for the elite who can afford private schools, and get good jobs through their network. There are also some privileged youth who chose to be in waithood and depend on their parents while

² Local social structures can refer to a variety of different social arrangements. The hierarchical relationship that exists between elders and youth in several African societies, including Tanzania, is an example of a social local structure.

avoiding the responsibility of adulthood. However, for most young Africans waitthood is involuntary (Honwana 2012:5).

This life situation referred to as waitthood, which is seen as contemporary even though the time frame is unknown and may become permanent, brings a range of emotions including frustration and anger. However, I was surprised to discover how peaceful the youth were when they told me about their difficult lives. Most were far from expressing themselves as angry. Of course they were frustrated. They wished they had jobs, and that the political systems and the country in general were well functioning. Despite this they did not show anger while telling their stories.

However, peoples reactions are results of their expectations, and maybe people that grew up in poor families, knowing the system was influenced by corruption, and that it would be close to impossible to obtain formal jobs, are not angry because they have expected that reality and do not know how it can be different.

The more knowledge I obtained regarding youths' situation during the research process, the more keen I was to focus on my research question; how do youth in Dar es Salaam engage in politics? I was wondering if youths' situation gave them a political spark. Yet, my understanding of youths' hopeless situation was reflected in my pessimistic hypothesis; Tanzanian youth has little engagement in politics due to cultural obstacles, limited access to media, low degree of political teaching in school, in addition to a challenging life situation.

2.1 The state of the Tanzanian democracy

Tanzanian youth will face numerous difficult challenges during their life. Therefore, they have a strong reason to affect their future by engaging in politics. However, it is important to keep in mind that the Tanzanian democracy is still quite young.

Tanzania has been a union since 1964, when the two countries Zanzibar and Tanganyika united as the United Republic of Tanzania after they had recently gained independence from British rule (Havnevik 2010:26-27). Tanganyika, today known as Mainland Tanzania, adopted a post-colonial republican multiparty-based constitution when they reached independence, before the existence of the United Republic. Their first democratic election was conducted in 1962 when Julius Nyerere, the leader of Tanganyika National Union (TANU), won with ninety nine percent of the votes (Ewald 2010: 241).

In spite of this liberalizing start after independence, Tanzania was turned into a one-party state (Havnevik 2010:27).

Julius Nyerere, popularly known as Mwalimu (teacher) was born in 1922 (Gauhar and Nyerere 1984:815). Nyerere was only 21 years old and still a university student when he started to voice his political opinions. In the 1940s, it was young men in their twenties who most effectively seized the intellectual and political opportunities (Brennan 2006:226).

At the time the elders' influence was declining as generational tension was increasing. There was a generational competition of getting jobs and to influence politics, and the youth was willing to challenge the authority of state-appointed chiefs and elders of regionally bound "tribes" in Tanganyika (Brennan 2006:226).

A British Intelligence report from 1948 affirmed the youth's political engagement, stating that the younger leadership campaigned "for the removal of all old and illiterate chiefs and sub-chiefs throughout the territory and their replacement by young and educated men – i.e., themselves" (Brennan 2006:227).

According to Altaf Gauhar and Julius K. Nyerere himself (1984:815), Nyerere became the founder of the Tanganyika National Union party (TANU) in 1952. He was later elected to the Legislative Assembly in 1958. Gauhar and Nyerere (1984:815) further adds that, "He led the negotiations for independence, becoming, in 1961, the country's first Prime Minister and, in 1962, its first President".

Nyerere, which is also referred to as the father of nation, was president until 1985 (Havnevik 2010:19), and later passed away in 1999. However, his presence is still noticeable in Tanzanian politics today.

Julius Nyerere is proof that the possibility for youth to seize in a democracy exists. Still, it is important to remember that the youth had an advantage at that point in history. During the 1940's Brennan (2006: 226) informs us,

Swelling African migration to Dar es Salaam made the town increasingly representative of the whole territory, while generational tensions became increasingly territorialized. Well-travelled youths, enjoying greater access to Western education

and cash wages, were more willing to challenge the authority of state-appointed chiefs and elders of regionally bound “tribes” in Tanganyika.

However, many of the young politicians that engaged during Nyerere’s leadership are still in politics. One young woman in Dar es Salaam told me, “The elders started young, and stayed within the system, and will not get out”.

In 1992, the Tanzanian government initiated a process of political liberalization, and in 1995 Tanzania conducted a multi-party election (Ewald 2010:223). The Tanzanian democracy has developed positively, and the 2010 election has been referred to in positive terms, “So the elections of 31 October 2010 took place in a largely transparent, orderly and peaceful fashion, as acknowledged by many international election observers and national NGOs” according to Stefan Reith (2011:110). The calm election confirmed a continuation of Tanzania’s reputation as a peaceful country in an unstable region (Reith 2011:105).

Reith (2011: 105) further elaborates concerning Tanzania’s political state,

It remains to be seen, however, whether the door to a fully functioning multiparty democracy has really been opened. The development from a one party state to multi-party democracy is still in its infancy but it is starting to look like a more realistic possibility.

Edward Miguel (2004:327) can inform us,

Recent research suggests that ethnically diverse societies are prone to corruption, political instability, poor institutional performance, and slow economic growth and that in the United States higher levels of diversity are related to lower provision of local public goods across municipalities. Addressing ethnic divisions is likely to be particularly important for Africa, the most ethnically diverse and poorest continent.

In this context, Tanzania as a peaceful developing democracy has achieved great results, largely due to Nyerere’s focus on nation building and the introduction of Swahili as the national language (Miguel 2004: 335). Katherine A. Snyder’s study *Building a democracy*

from below: a case from rural Tanzania (2008) documents that Tanzania is a developing democracy, and Snyder (2008:287) claims that events that are included in her study reveals a new sense of the right to participate in decision-making on how to use important development resources in Tanzania

However, Ewald (2010:228) puts focus on that Tanzania is still in transition from being a one-party state to becoming a fully-fledged multi-party system. He further says that both formal and informal democratic institutions remain weak (Ewald 2010:228). Makulilo and Raphael (2010:1) claim that the Tanzanian state and the ruling party, Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) previously known as TANU, are strategically fused to create an uneven playing field that will disadvantage the opposition parties. One youth expressed distrust regarding CCM during an interview, “Sometimes votes are stolen. That is why CCM is in power. They use their influence”.

Jonas Ewald (2010:237) also points out several aspects that are present in Tanzania, which can be challenging to a democracy, such as an elitist attitude of administrators and political leaders on different levels in the society, including NGOs and political parties. He further elaborates by referring to the Tanzanian culture of dominance and patronage, which can be seen as a challenge to democracy. Ewald adds that this culture is not unique to Tanzania, and is characterized by dominance from top down to the household level and to the relationship between different social layers such as man/woman and children/parents (Ewald 2010:237). I cannot agree with Ewald’s claim, which says there is a culture of dominance and patronage in Tanzania. Tanzania consists of dozens of major ethnic groups (Miguel 2004:328), also referred to as tribes, which means there are great cultural variations. However, hierarchical and patriarchal cultures can be found in Tanzania.

Another challenge to the Tanzanian democracy is accusations towards the local government that claims that they are using their powers to suppress criticism of the government or leaders. Ewald says that people express most of their opinions, but avoid saying too critical aspects concerning the government, especially if a suspected intelligence service agent or government official is present. *Usalama wa Taifa*, the intelligence service, is still perceived to have a widespread network and reporting system according to Ewald (2010:237).

Knowing the state of the democracy it seems like it can be complicated to engage in politics for youth. However, during fieldwork a person who supported CHADEMA, an opposition party, said

CHADEMA is a young party for young people. The youth wing focuses only on cases of youth. Even the main party is youth. The Chairman in the main party became chairman when he was young. The structure of the party gives hope to the youth.

Also, the ruling party Chama cha Mapinduzi has a large and active youth wing, which means it is possible for youth to engage.

2.2 Youths' political knowledge and interest

“Youth are interested. The interest is growing slowly. Before there was not much interest,” a young and engaged man told me an afternoon in Dar es Salaam. To be able to engage in politics youth need to possess basic knowledge about the democratic system as well as politics in general. With a critical ongoing debate concerning the quality of the education in Tanzania it was interesting to ask youth questions about politics that can be termed as basic and simple in an attempt to reveal their level of political knowledge.

According to Valentino, Hutchings, Banks and Davis (2008:248): “Many theories of governance argue that an informed and engaged citizenry, able to deliberate about important issues of the day in open and free discussions, is ideal and perhaps necessary for a fully functioning democracy”. They continue elaborating, “Still, few would disagree that more relevant political knowledge is generally better than less, especially if we demand democratically elected officials to be responsive to majority opinion. In other words, “voting correctly requires citizens validly to connect their preferences to the policy programs, ideologies, and character traits of candidates running for office” (Lau and Redlawsk 1997 in Valentino et al. 2008:248). In simple terms, political knowledge is necessary for a democracy to be fully democratic.

My hypothesis claims that a low degree of political teaching is one of the reasons that inhibit youth from participating in politics. I was therefore curious to hear the youths' answers when I asked the first question under the section called political knowledge in the interview guide during the twenty-three structured interviews was; “Where did you learn about politics?”

Place	Number of respondents
School (including university)	7
TV	1
At home	2
Media	3
Campaigns	1
Social life	1
Small social groups	2
In the streets	3
Never learned about politics	8

Table 1. Where youth in Dar es Salaam learned about politics

In other words, less than one-third of the youths that were interviewed had learned about politics in school, which is not surprising because of the level of quality in the public education.

Then, they were all asked what the voting age is in Tanzania, and all twenty-three respondents knew that the correct answer was eighteen years of age.

The next basic question was “how often is the presidential election?” One answered after four years; three answered after ten years; one did not know; and eighteen youth gave the correct answer that the presidential election is after five years. All the interviewees knew that Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete is the current president.

The youth were then asked a tricky question, almost similar to question number five that regards the frequency of presidential election, under the section political knowledge: “How many years is the presidential period?” One answered four years, seven respondents said ten years, one did not know, and fourteen answered that the presidential period is five years. The reason why they were asked two very similar questions was to see how sure they were of their political knowledge. Both of the questions had the same answers, but the questions were formulated differently. The president is elected for a five-year term.

Further, three youth answered me that the president can be elected for only one term, one youth said three terms, seventeen respondents gave the correct answer of two terms, while one did not know and one said there is no limit.

When they were asked to give the names of the three biggest political parties in Tanzania, all twenty-three respondents said CCM and Chadema, then, twenty-one said CUF and two interviewees said NCCR Mageuzi. These answers are in line with the current political picture.

The next question asked if everyone have the right to vote. Twenty-one said yes, while two said no. However, the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania (The Government of the United Republic of Tanzania n.d.:12) says:

Every citizen of the United Republic who has attained the age of eighteen years is entitled to vote in any election held in Tanzania. This right shall be exercised in accordance with the sub article (2), and of the other provisions of this Constitution and the law for the time being in force in Tanzania in relation to public elections.

Sub article (2) continues (The Government of the United Republic of Tanzania. n.d.:12),

Parliament may enact a law imposing conditions restricting a citizen from exercising the right to vote by reason of any of the following grounds: (a) being a citizen of another state; (b) being mentally infirm; (c) being convicted of certain specified criminal offences; (d) omission or failure to prove or to produce evidence as to age, citizenship or registration as a voter.

The youth were not wrong when they said that everyone could vote, because that is often how the voting system in a democracy is described. Exceptions from the “all-can-vote-rule” are not often well-known knowledge in any democracy.

Maybe the most difficult question for the youth, which was a bit surprising, was “what political system does Tanzania follow?” Seven answered that they did not know, five answered a democratic system, two answered a multiparty system, one said Tanzania is free and fair, one said representative, two said CCM, one said they follow a local system, one said a British system, one said “socialism and independent”, another said “people should stay together in peace”, and the last said that “the constitution decides the political system”. As in regard of the previous question, some of these answers were not wrong, but I interpreted the answers, as well as the youths’ body language during the interviews, and therefore conclude that many of the youth were unsure of Tanzania’s political system. The most obvious answer would have been a democratic system, however, it is possible to formulate several correct answers.

The last question they were asked under the section called political knowledge was “what is good/not good with a democratic system?” The question was asked in hope of revealing the degree of knowledge they contained concerning the opportunities that should exist within a democratic system. Some answers were encouraging; “Good. Democracy teaches us or gives us information on how the country is doing”; “It is good that everyone has the right to vote because everyone is equal”.

Some had split opinions;

It is good to allow free individual participation in activities or development activities, like voting. Also equality and transparency over freedom is not good. People are free to start their own political parties and that sparks political conflict. Multiparty system creates conflict and also misallocation of resources.

Another youth said, “Democracy is good. Freedom of choice, sometimes it is good, sometimes bad, but it is good because you get freedom of choice”. The youth may give contradictory statements because their picture of democracy is contradictory. They hear positive facts concerning a democratic system, but their reality and their perception of the system they encounter on a daily basis is characterized as a low functioning democracy.

Also, some people were negative; “Not good, especially in Tanzania. Because we have a lot of resources, but all of these resources ends up in the hands of few people”; “You convince your citizens to vote for them by corrupting them. You promise unattainable things”; “There are cultural things we disagree with a democracy: sexual minorities (gay people). There is a conflict between religion and democracy and the government. Religion does not allow gay people, but democracy does”.

There were also some who did not know what a democracy was, or they had never heard of a democracy; “I am just following CCM so I do not know about democracy”.

The level of political knowledge among youth can be summarized as in general quite low. They are familiar with, or possess, basic knowledge, such as information about the current and previous presidents, how many years a presidential term is, that “all” men and women older than eighteen years-of-age have the right to vote during a political election. However, it

does not seem like broader political knowledge such as different political systems, national or international, is common knowledge.

When I further tried to find out about youths' political interest, and asked a young man; "What is the political interest among youth in Dar es Salaam, and how do they engage?" He answered, as previously mentioned; "Youth are interested. The interest is growing slowly. Before, it was not much interest". However, he also added; "personalities are important. Not stands and ideology".

The twenty three youth who participated in structured interviews were all asked how often they talked about politics with friends or family, which could be a indicator of their political interest. Four youth answered that they never talked about politics, four answered rarely, seven answered sometimes, while eight respondents answered that they often talked about it. However, it is interesting that eighteen interviewees enjoyed discussing politics. Only five youth said that they did not enjoy talking about politics.

The natural follow up was to ask why they enjoyed talking about politics, or why they did not enjoy discussing the topic. One response was "I want to know how the country is doing or what is happening", another said "To learn a lot of things", and a third response was; "Because I know the situation of our country. Now we are fighting for our constitution. I want to know what is going on in our country". Several youth mentioned that they liked to know what was going on in the country, without specifically emphasizing a political approach.

One reasoning for not enjoying to talk about politics was; "To learn about politics or talk about politics is to waste your time, because now the ruling party is CCM, and if you go to try to engage in politics, you go and spend the whole day getting nothing". Another youngster said; "I'm not enjoying. Why should I not do stuff I can gain from, instead of talking about politics?" Two other frustrated youth said, "Because the system is boring. They do not inspire people. When we talk about who will be the next president: it has been ten years. Nothing has changed. Leave it as it is. I cannot do anything about it", and; "Because all the weaknesses with our government. And how everything in this country is solved by bribe. It has always only been one party".

These findings may support the general picture described by the Mo Ibrahim Foundation (2012:58-62), which says that youth today engage, however not necessarily in politics, but in general. As previously mentioned, they claim that fifty six percent of African youth have an

interest in current affairs. Still, one youth said to me; “Many want to engage in politics, but not to be associated with a party”.

3 How youth are inhibited

During fieldwork it occurred to me how complex the youths' situation was. Several youth hesitated from participating in politics because they feared negative consequences. In this chapter we will look at some of the aspects that inhibit youth from engaging in the political landscape. One guy told me he had never gone to a political campaign and reasoned it by saying; "I really do not want to get caught up in the mix. I will have my views, but people will hush you up. And they will get to people close to you".

3.1 Culture

Diouf's claim regarding youths' hierarchical relationship to elders has contributed to my hypothesis that states that youth are inhibited from engaging in politics due to cultural obstacles. Diouf (1996:225) claims that youth has played crucial roles in movements and nationalist coalitions, however their contributions has and can be rejected as a result of the African traditions that uphold rules and expectations of submissive behavior from the young towards the elders.

History shows that youth has been politically engaged in Africa, and seized power, despite of cultural traditions. However, around independence, few people were educated and independent Tanganyika needed educated leaders. The few people with education were youth, such as Nyerere, and could therefore rightfully challenge the elders.

Still, many of the dominant politicians today are politicians who have been in politics since Nyerere was president, and are seen as difficult to challenge politically because they have built the nation. As one young woman told me, "The elders started young, and stayed within the system, and will not get out".

Today, it has been claimed that the waithood generation feels rejected by their elders as a result of cultural traditions and as a result rejects formal party politics in addition to corruption, which is associated with formal politics. Honwana (2012:111) further adds that there is a lack of political role models as well as space for critical youth involvement, and that it has led to further distances between the youth and dominant political structures. Also, a number of young Africans are dissatisfied with politicians and government institutions that fail to acknowledge or contribute to their basic needs (Honwana 2012:112). One enlightened

young man told me; “There are not enough role models and a lack of motivation [among youth]”. He defined role models as people who started with nothing, but made it. He gave an example: A friend who came from a rural area and moved to Dar es Salaam with nothing, and worked hard. Now he has a nice house, car and everything. He also mentioned another friend who had gone to public schools, and did not come from an elite family, and made it to A-levels in high school and university. “When I ask how she did it, she answers: I studied night and day”.

I asked several youth about the relationship between the youth and the elders, and if the youth have great respect for the elders; “In Tanzania in general: Yes, youth respect the elders. But not in Dar es Salaam”. However, one guy told me that youth at the local level fear questioning the elders.

In the interview guide that was made for the twenty-three structured interviews there was a section called “culture”, which included questions concerning the relationship between youth and elders. The first question in this section was an open-ended question asking, “What do you think about the elders?” Some of the answers reflected respect and traditions; “They are people who can put the youth together to give them advice and also tell them old traditions”; “I see them as the biggest advisers who tell them to do right things. And try to make us avoid bad dressing styles and things like that”, “There is a lot of respect for people who are forty-years-old and above”, “In African culture, what elders decide should be done. I agree sometimes”.

However, there was one answer that differed between rural and urban youth; “You have to see the difference between urban and rural youth. Youth respect the elders not too low and not too high. It is supported by tradition and culture of Tanzania. Even if I do not know you I should say ‘*Shikamoo*’ (respectful greeting in Swahili)”. Burton (2005:8) claims that the urban world can be youthful, and offer freedom from elders’ control and opportunities for advancement to youngsters. Diouf (1996:228) strengthens this claim when he states that urban space can be regarded as lacking tradition, including supervision and control.

Seven of the youth told me they had disagreed with elders, however, sixteen said they had never disagreed with them. The ones that had disagreed said that they had said to the elders at the time that they did not agree with them. The respondents who had not disagreed with elders were asked to answer why not; “Because they are elders, and I cannot disagree with my

parents”, “Because I respect myself and do not want to cause problems with the elders”, “I am always with elders all the time and I listen to their advices. They tell me how to live in towns and what I should do”; “It is my belief that it would be disobedience of the elders. It is the complex of our culture. We are normally bound to admit what elders say”.

Nevertheless, twenty-two interviewees said it was okay to discuss with elders. Only one respondent disagreed. They were asked: “What would happen if youth discuss politics and disagreed with elders?” They answered: “There can be some problems because the elders feel that the youth disagree with them, because they should always listen”, “it might result in a conflict”, “I do not know what would happen”, “That is where conflict exists”.

One respondent said; “The youth thinks: I can’t be in politics. It is for wazee (meaning elders in Swahili), but this is not the culture, it is a perception. But, we are seeing a change now. Young people are changing status quo: that only elders can be leaders”. The young woman was right in that we are seeing increasing numbers of young leaders, which another informant also pointed out while referring to the parliament. At present time there are nineteen youth serving as Parliament Officers in the Tanzanian Parliament, where ten are young men and nine are young women. The total number of Members of Parliament in Tanzania is three hundred and fifty-seven. I applied the previously used definition of youth, which includes women and men between fifteen and thirty-five years-of-age (UNFPA 2013:3). But, there were several Members of Parliament who were lacking information, including date and year of birth, on the profiles available online. Some of them seemed young, so there may as well be more Parliament Officers who can be defined as youth (Parliament of Tanzania n.d.).

As a result of this political situation, youth can feel disfranchised. Honwana (2012:111-112) claims that in spite of this, youth can be politically engaged outside mainstream structures mainly in civil society associations. They also engage through music, especially hip-hop, and through using popular culture as a mean to protest against corruption and politics. However, some feel completely marginalized.

After analyzing the data collection I would have to argue that cultural obstacles can inhibit youth from participating in politics, but it is not given. Youth have engaged before, and they will continue to engage. However, the numbers of political engaged youth may have been higher if the cultural hierarchical relationships were eliminated.

3.2 Youth as a social constructed group

It is important to emphasize that in any political system, including democracy, the different social groups have varying degree of political power according to theory concerning social construction.

Social construction is opposed to a “reduction” orientation in the social sciences, which reduces all social and political conditions to simple and objective analyses. Social construction is a theory that shapes the world through including various ways that “realities” in the world is defined by. This includes stereotypes, images and assignment of values to objects, events, and people, which constitute the elements that operationalize public policy and politics (Ingram et al. 2007:94 -95).

The term “target group” is used in conjunction with social structure to identify the groups that are selected to receive benefits or burdens through the various elements of policy design. Other elements that are included in policy design that affects the target group in addition to the benefits and burdens are given goals or problems to be solved, as well as tools that are anticipated to change behavior, rules for inclusion or exclusion, rationales that legitimates the policy and provide an internal explanation of cause and effect linking means to ends, and the implementation structure (Ingram et al. 2007:95).

The legislature, executives, and the citizenry can perceive social structures as hegemonic and even natural, and therefore, the conditions are rarely questioned. However, it could also be competing constructions based on different belief systems, ideologies, experiences or anticipated consequences. In politics, there is a continuing struggle to achieve recognition for certain structures and their consequences (Ingram et al. 2007:95).

It is likely that youth as a social constructed group will qualify as dependents which is a positively constructed group seen as deserving, however, mostly in terms of sympathy and pity. Diouf (1996:230) claims that high unemployment rates profoundly affect and reinforce their status as dependents. Other groups who are placed as dependents are groups such as families in poverty, students, widows, orphans, mentally handicapped etc. Ingram et al. (2007:103) emphasizes that these groups struggle due to lack of political power, which limits their receipt of benefits. Dependents do not have a strong role in the creation of national wealth: they deserve less investment compared to other people. Benefits and aid to these

groups are the first to be cut in times of budget tightening and last to receive generosity in good times. At least they are usually viewed as good people (Ingram et al. 2007:103).

However, historical and contemporary policy designs have a long-term effect because of the rewards and sanctions that have been allocated to identified target groups. Helen Ingram, Anne L Schneider, and Peter deLeon (2007:96) states: “Policy design shapes the experience of target groups and sends implicit messages about how important their problems are to government and whether their participation is likely to be effective”. Unfortunate politics and government reforms have contributed to the negative reputation of youth in Tanzania (Perullo 2005:76). The Tanzanian government started to remove youth who were hanging out in the streets of Dar es Salaam during the 1960’s. They launched Operation Kupe, which translates to Operation Parasite, in 1962. The goal of the operation was to send jobless youth in Dar es Salaam to rural areas (Burton 2005:3-4) (Perullo 2005:79). Another operation followed four years later, named Kila Mtu Afanya Kazi, which translates to Everyone Must Work.

However, Nguvu Kazi also referred to as the Human Resource Deployment Act, was passed by the Tanzanian government in 1983, and has been described as the “strongest attack on urban joblessness” (Perullo 2005:79). The Act criminalized the people who didn’t hold a job in the formal sector. 15,000 people were arrested during the last three months of 1983 after committing the crime of loitering on the streets between 10 A.M and 2 P.M. As a result of the Act, unemployed people were either sent to work on sisal estates or they were sent back to their home regions (Burton 2000:2).

Policy designs also shape institutions and the broader culture through instrumental, rhetorical, and symbolic effects of policy. Therefore, policy designs affect public and elite opinion, and the social construction of target groups, the distribution of political power resources, as well as the legitimacy of various knowledge systems (Ingram et al. 2007:97). The Nguvu Kazi Act now belongs to history, but to hang out on the streets is still seen as a sign of laziness or even crime. Young unemployed people still continue to hang out on the streets or in public areas, however. Such public places can be referred to as the Swahili word for pimple (kijiwe). They gather to discuss challenges and issues they encounter, and share ideas of how they can find jobs (Perullo 2005:79-80), and are not scared away even after the police arrests them or force them to pay bribes (Andersson and Stavrou 2001 in Perullo 2005:79-80).

Also, by criminalizing youth and defining them as deviants, which is a target group that includes criminals, terrorists, and illegal immigrants etc., they eliminated a political threat. Deviants lack political power and positive social constructions and often receive a disproportionate share of burdens and sanctions. Also, deviants are kept down, like in the United States where deviants make up a permanent underclass, because of politicians who gain support by punishing them. The broader public believes that deviants are undeserving of anything better (Ingram et al. 2007:103).

On the basis of this theory, it is essential to keep in mind that it may not be easy to engage in politics for youth in general, and maybe especially challenging for youth who lives in a still developing democracy.

3.3 The frightening consequences of political engagement

During an interview, a respondent explained that CCM spreads propaganda that says if you vote for an opposition party you “disturb peace”. In Tanzania peace is important. Tanzania is the country of peace. Therefore, it is effective to use this as propaganda.

Harold D. Lasswell (1927:627) explains propaganda: “Propaganda is the management of collective attitudes by the manipulation of significant symbols. The word attitude is taken to mean a tendency to act according to certain patterns of valuation”.

Thomas Hylland Eriksen (1996:48) asks how are events from the distant past suddenly important in the present. He answers his own question by claiming that it is certainly not because of the events. The cause must instead be sought in the general, implicit views on narratives about the past as if they were moral tales about people.

Stories are ambiguous, and it is therefore possible to draw the moral or political lessons as desired, because almost anything has happened in the past (Eriksen 1996:48). Propaganda could therefore be an efficient tool for politicians and governments. Governments in the developing world have tried to justify and maintain authoritarian rule by denouncing liberal democratic principles as alien by using propaganda according to Aung San Suu Kyi (1991:23-24). She further elaborates that the authorities implicitly claim that they have official and sole right to determine what is and is not consistent with indigenous cultural norms. Scholars have

studied such conventional propaganda that aims to consolidate the power of the incumbent government, and it is a well-known phenomenon.

However, it is not only propaganda that is used to inhibit youth, and people in general, from engaging in politics. Fear is also an effective tool to prevent people from using their liberal rights, which should be present in a democracy. I asked one youth if he had engaged in politics, and he answered, “Not really. Politics is a nasty thing. I do not want to involve myself in politics, come what may. Not everyone likes each other in government. Some arrange to kill because of politics. We lost one of our big think tankers”. He continued, “They make it like a facade, false appearance, like robbers”.

People also fear negative consequence in terms of employment opportunities if they engage in politics without success. I was told, “People fear for their future if they run for election and then loose”. The respondent continued by elaborating “If you run for CCM and loose you will not have a problem after the election [at work place etc.]. But if you run for opposition and then loose you will have a problem. If you have finally gotten an education, why risk it? If you apply for a job and you are CCM that is okay, but if you are in the opposition it makes things difficult. People do not affiliate with a party and talk about it at work”.

During fieldwork several people told me that it is not unusual for people who engage in political debates through social media to use accounts with fake identities. As one youth asked; “That raises the question: why?” the interview continued further to the question: “Is it not safe?” This may also be a sign that they fear possible consequences, which may occur, after engaging if they use their own name and face in heated political debates. A young, informed man enlightened me when we talked about why youth do not engage in politics, and he claimed it is a mix between fear and culture. The people see it as dangerous, however the informant added that threats rarely happen. By culture he referred to the relationship between youth and elders.

Students in Tanzania are denied political participation during their education. Therefore, students are afraid to engage. Several youth who had previously been enrolled at the university level said they had not engaged in politics because they had too much at stake. The consequence for political participation is expulsion. One youth said; “You can get expelled if you engage in politics in university. When I was second year about ninety were expelled. In the third year it was about ten to eleven”. The Tanzanian newspaper *The Citizen* (Liganga

2012) has documented a discussion between members of Parliament concerning students that have been expelled from public higher learning institutions, including from the university of Dar es Salaam. One Member of Parliament, Ms. Halima Mdee representing Kawe, claimed that the authorities have expelled most of the students because they are believed to have supported opposition parties.

I got to know from youth that there are clear policies in the Universities that says it is not allowed to engage in politics, which *The Universities (Student Organisations) Regulations 2009* signed by Minister for Education and Vocational Training Hon. Jumanne A. Maghembe confirm. The Government Notice no. 178 prohibits students from political participation in two regulations. Regulation 4(4) says, “A student organisation shall not be recognized as a valid organisation unless-(d) its written constitution has, a provision prohibiting the organisation from engaging in politics” (Maghembe 2009:2-3). Regulation 9(2) is the second regulation that prevents students from engaging in politics, and it says, “A student who contests for election to the major offices of the organization shall be a person- (d) of no political party affiliation or allegiance” (Maghembe 2009:5-6).

As one young woman put it, “The minute youth are empowered, we are the change”. Students are often young and ambitious people, who are learning how to think critically. A young woman also claimed, “The government are frightened by the number of youth. If the youth gets rights they can challenge the government”. Still, youth told me that there are political student organizations often located right outside campus, and it is often secret who are involved. But those who are involved know the leadership of their political branch, and the members.

There are also other aspects that can trigger fear among people. A young man pointed out that some people are afraid of witchcraft, especially if young people go against elders in anyway. He further said it is elders who use witchdoctors.

There is also a story known in villages on Zanzibar and coastal towns on the Mainland that frighten people from participating in politics. The story is about an evil spirit named Popobawa. Martin Walsh (2009:27) has conducted research concerning Popobawa and claims that, “People trace the name (and in some cases the spirit) back to an earlier episode of panic that took place in the south of Pemba following the 1964 Revolution”. The Swahili name Popobawa means “wing-bat” or “winged bat” if translated into English (Walsh 2009:27). It is

further explained that the name is given due to the dark shadow that the evil spirit casts at night. People, both men and women, have been assaulted and even sodomized by Popobawa (Walsh 2009:27).

It is claimed on Wikipedia (n.d:b) that “reports of Popobawa attacks rise and fall with the election cycle in Zanzibar, although victims argue Popobawa is apolitical”, and further explains; “In 1995, it was the focus of a major outbreak of mass hysteria or panic which spread from Pemba to Unguja, the main island of the Zanzibar archipelago, and across to Dar es Salaam and other urban centres on the East African coast”. 1995 was the year of the first multi-party election in Tanzania. A person who knows this story from Zanzibar told me Popobawa is known to feed on political unrest, and that locals at Zanzibar have been seen sleeping outside their houses to avoid an attack from Popobawa, which is said to attack while the victim is asleep in bed (Wikipedia n.d:b). Walsh (2009:28) further writes,

During one of many incidents in the town the possessory spirit of a local woman announced that the culprits were certain unnamed politicians, members of the ruling party (CCM), who had brought 70 spirits to the island to harass people and distract them from talking about and becoming involved in politics.

4 How youth engage in politics

Honwana (2012:118) states, “Young people’s perception is that politics offers them no space for real participation”. Untraditional views or alternative thinking are not accepted in the state or in party politics. As a result, youth seek other ways to engage outside conventional social and political processes” (Honwana 2012:118).

Honwana (2012:118) continues by elaborating, and says there is several ways youth can participate and contribute to social improvement; civil society groups, student councils, and independent youth organizations. The relationship between civic activism, popular culture (particularly hip-hop music), and political protests demonstrates the modern ways youth expresses their opinions. However, some of the youth involved in current social debates do not want to refer to themselves as political. For many young Africans, politics is associated with negative words such as corruption and abusive. On the other hand, they do not see themselves as apolitical either (Honwana 2012:118).

The voter turnout can be a good sign of the political engagement. 20,137,303 people had registered to vote in Tanzania’s previous election in 2010. In spite of this, only 8,626,283 people voted, which is equal to forty two percent according to African Elections Database (2011).

Fourteen of the twenty-three youth in Dar es Salaam answered that they had previously voted in an election, while nine answered no. The follow up question was why, or why not, depending on their first answer. Several of the respondents who had voted added that they wanted to select the right leader, or that it was their right. The respondents who had not voted during previous elections had several reasons. Some were not old enough to vote, some mentioned that they were in a different region from where they were registered to vote, one respondent was busy, another respondent answered that the students were not allowed to leave the boarding school.

Stefan Reith (2011:110) writes about the 2010 election and how students were unable to vote. Many students had registered to vote at their place of study. However, the Government postponed the start of the semester at a short notice until November, and the election took place on the 31st of October. Many students had to stay home longer than expected, and were therefore unable to vote. Reith writes (2011: 110), “Student representatives claimed that in

this way approximately 60,000 young people were robbed of their right to vote, which was presumably what the Government intended”. He adds that the student organizations filed a lawsuit against the Government (Reith 2011: 110).

After these different explanations they were asked if they would vote in the next election. All of them answered yes. One youth reasoned this by saying “I am fulfilling the country rule that you should vote when you are eighteen years, and select the right leader”. Others answered: “because then I am the right age and have the right to vote” or “I want to elect the new leader”. Another answered, “Because it is no option. You may have some faith in a person, so it is better to vote for him or her, and hope that the other person you have no faith in, does not win”. A different answer was “If I do it, it is because it is the right person who fits the position. I cannot do it just because people are doing it”. One youth also expressed a sense of fear: “I will vote if the country is in stable peace. If it is not, I do not dare”. Several mentioned that they want to elect a leader that can bring peace and development. Another answer was “Because I have to. Every vote counts. It is for our own sake. And to have the memory that you played your part. To get what you want”.

So, the youth told me they wanted to vote in the next election, and therefore contribute to their democracy. Yet, I wanted to find out how natural the thought of political engagement were to them. I therefore asked how youth could change or affect their future, and surprisingly none mentioned politics as a means to shape their future. They all wanted change to happen, for example, one youth said, “They should have employment opportunities, and they should study”. However, they did not know how they could engage to obtain change.

It became apparent during the interviews that youth care for their country, and want to take part in making sure that their country will continue to develop. However, is their political engagement traditional or modern? Do they participate in political campaigns and meetings in the street, or are they debating through the social media?

4.1 The importance of rap music

Youth living in Tanzania at present time are exposed to several difficult challenges and circumstances that make life tough, as previously explained. Every individual would react to these challenges differently – some will become productive and inventive, and make an opportunity, which did not exist, like the countless young street vendors. Others will become

depressed and apathetic, or even negative. There are as many different examples of reaction as there are people.

Perullo (2005:77) claims that through rap, youth teaches each other about challenges they will face in Tanzanian everyday life, such as joblessness, class differences, AIDS and corruption. Criticism of social and political conditions is central in Tanzanian rap (Perullo 2005:79). It has been claimed that rap has created a platform for young people in Dar es Salaam and also other areas in the country. It has enabled the young people to have a community feeling. Rap has given youth confidence and self-reliance, and therefore empowered them. Through the music, they know that others are dealing with the same daily challenges. They acquire understanding, not anger and violence (Perullo 2005:77).

The rapper Roma was one of the artists most frequently mentioned when I asked the youth if they could give me an example of an artist that sings political songs. Roma is known as a rap artist who is critical towards current issues in Tanzania. Three young Tanzanians used two days to translate his song “2030” from Swahili into English.

By rendering some few sentences from Roma’s (Mkatoliki n.d) song “2030” one can easily discover his political message:

Mrisho’s³ mess make Benja⁴ look shiny. Do not trust too much of what you are reading because even the writers are bribed. Youth is the strength of the Nation but many are in the mental hospital Lutindi. And street people are damn broke, to an extent of selling their own kidney.

Both the English version of the song “2030”, as well as the original Swahili version can be found under *Appendix*.

Another artist that was mentioned frequently was Diamond Platnumz, which currently has some of the most popular Tanzanian Bongo Flava songs. However, while doing research on his background I discovered that also he has a role in politics. Wikipedia (n.d:a) claims “In 2010, he endorsed Tanzania's dominant ruling party, the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) and

³ Mrisho refers to the current President Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete

⁴ Benja refers to the previous President Benjamin Mkapa

its presidential candidate, Jakaya Kikwete. He also recorded a remix of his single Mbagala, titled *CCM Tusonge Mbele* (CCM Let's Move Forward)".

Perullo (2005:77) also claims that Tanzanians have used music to express their meanings on political and social issues for a long time in history. Many artists in the music genres dansi and taarab raised problems of urban life in their songs before Tanzania was independent in 1961 (Perullo 2005:77), which means that Tanzanian youth can engage through several music genres.

In current Tanzania, music is important to youth. Twenty-three youth in Dar es Salaam were asked if they listened to music in general, and then I asked if they specifically listened to rap. Twenty-two said they listened to music, and fourteen said they listened to rap music. However, the term rap seemed unclear and unfamiliar to some of them, which may have affected the answers. If I had asked them if they listened to Bongo Flava, which is the name of Tanzanian hip hop (Perullo 2005:98), it is reasonable to believe that nearly everyone would have answered yes.

However, rap has been seen as music that corrupts the youths' minds and many rappers and people who listen to rap music are looked at as hooligans (Perullo 2005:76). Unfortunately, according to some adults' preconceived views of youth culture and media representation of young people's practices, they may often be seen as hostile, violent and destructive (Perullo 2005:76).

The rappers can receive criticism for being too vocal and disrespectful of elders (Perullo 2005:82). Still, most rappers believe they are free to express their opinions. Few songs mention individuals or political parties. An engaged youth living in Dar es Salaam underlined the impact rap may have when he told me; "Politicians use artists (rappers) during rallies. That says it all!" He continued talking about how the artists have to wrap their political message into a popular song that doesn't seem too critical at first "sight"; "The art of wrapping the message. If it is critical they don't get air time". Several of the radio stations in Dar es Salaam are owned by businessmen who support the political party Chama cha Mapinduzi, or they rely on CCM's support to develop their business, therefore criticism of the CCM will most likely not be aired (Perullo 2005:84).

Rap can occasionally bring a message from youth that reaches the leaders. The humorous political song “Ndio Mzee”, where Professor Jay pretends to be a knowledgeable elder proposing numerous ways to transform the country and rid it of its problems was popular in Tanzania (Jay 2001b in Perullo 2005:84). When President Benjamin Mkapa said in his speech in Mtwara, located in the south of Tanzania, “there is no room in this government for people who have policy of “ndio mzee” (Perullo 2005:86) it proves that rap music can convey important messages. Yet, it is unlikely that Professor Jay’s song led to actual change in the Mkapa administration. It is important to remember that the songs are a part of a movement for change. This movement includes different actors such as academics, businessmen, journalists, radio and TV personalities and others who raises problems, supports discussions and criticizes the government administration (Perullo 2005:86).

At the same time it is essential to remember that Tanzanian youth also disagree amongst each other and do not hold a unified vision for their country, as in any country. This is also reflected in their songs. However, not all rap singers release songs concerning political or social issues. Many artists sing about dancing, love and party (Perullo 2005:97). For example, one of the most popular singers among youth, Diamond Platnumz, has songs with titles such as “I want to get drunk” (Ninataka kulewa), and “Number one”, and he generally sings about love and heartbreak.

For Tanzanian children and youth, people who make success through rap music are seen as role models and not hooligans. They share knowledge through lyrics and dare to raise and discuss problems youth encounter (Perullo 2005:97). As Perullo (2005:98) states “In certain contexts, the labels creative, empowered, and socially conscious are important to comprehend the state of contemporary youth in Africa”.

Music is important to Tanzanian youth. They download songs to their phones, and exchange them with friends in the street, and listen to them whenever they have the chance. The impression I was given during fieldwork is that youth do not feel like they engage in politics by listening to songs that may convey a political message. Thirteen youth told me it was popular to listen to political songs, especially closer to the election campaigns. Nine youth said it was not popular to listen to political songs. We have to keep in mind that some youth listen to the songs simply because they enjoy music in general. However, it does seem like youth may feel less alone in their difficult life situations by hearing about similar struggles

and challenges, which concerns other youth, in songs. The music may work as a vent that lets out steam from frustrated youth.

4.2 Social media and mass media

Youth engage in politics in different ways, and another engaged and knowledgeable young man said; “Among the urban elite, who have access to Internet, they follow politics through social media. For those few, discussions are hot”.

Several respondents informed me that social media is becoming an arena of debate. It is a safe place for political engagement and discussion. However, it is mostly available to the urban elite.

As an example of how important social media can be in a political context, an online forum called JamiiForums (<http://www.jamiiforums.com/>) should be mentioned. The respondent claimed that several corruption cases started with hints from this particular forum. However, many people use fake profiles to hide their identity.

Another respondent initiated our conversation by saying eagerly; “Things have changed drastically during the last five years. Before, the response was big. But now, the social media has developed. The response is huge”. In addition, the tolerance for freedom of speech has also developed and become higher. He added, “Many want to engage in politics, but not to be associated with a party”. It is not easy to engage in politics, especially in CCM. The respondent emphasized this claim by saying; “I bet CCM knows who will be president in 2030. It is set that way”.

Twenty-three youth in Dar es Salaam were asked about their access to Internet and social media. Thirteen had access to a computer with Internet, and eleven youth could access the Internet through their mobile phones, while also eleven had a user account on Facebook. In addition, ten youth possessed an email account. A total of six youth did not have access to a computer with Internet or a phone with Internet. This information may support the claim that it is mostly the elite that engages in politics through social media, since several of the respondents who had access to Internet also had higher education. It is important to emphasize that there were differences between the youth that could access Internet. Some said

they had access at the local Internet café, but did not have a phone with access, while others owned both a computer with Internet as well as a phone.

In 2010 the estimated number of Internet users in Tanzania was 4.8 millions, which means that only eleven percent of Tanzanians could access and use Internet. These numbers included cyber cafes, organization/institutions and households/individuals (Tanzania Communications Regulatory Authority 2010:18+24). Tanzania Communications Regulatory Authority (2010:24) states in their report, “The percentage of the Tanzanian population having access and using the internet is not encouraging”. By the end of 2013 the number of Internet users had gone up to 6,949,479, and at the time there were 705,460 Facebook subscribers in Tanzania (Internet World Stats 2014).

The elite often uses social media. However, youth in general stay updated because of mass media. The Mo Ibrahim Foundation (2012:58-62) has published several interesting facts under the heading “A highly connected generation”, the report (Mo Ibrahim 2012: 59) states that radio is much more influential than newspaper. Radio, with a seventy percent preference, has shown to be the preferred source of information. The TV is far behind with only nineteen percent, and Internet too, with a small two percent of young users stating that they rely on it as primary source of information.

In spite of this, sixteen of twenty-three respondents said they engaged in politics mostly through TV, where they watched Bunge (Swahili for parliament), while only eight said they engaged by listening to the radio. Only five said they engaged in politics on Facebook, and no one said they engaged in politics through newspapers.

In 2010 it was claimed that forty one percent of the Tanzanian population watched TV on a weekly basis. However, it was emphasized that these numbers differed greatly between urban and rural population. Radio was termed the most reliable mass medium, and was estimated to reach around eighty five percent of the population (Schumann 2013).

Another interesting point is that African Twitter users are younger than elsewhere. The average age worldwide is thirty-nine, while sixty percent of the African users are between twenty one and twenty nine years of age. Twenty two percent of the African users rely on Twitter as a primary source of information on employment opportunities. Seventy six percent of them answered they use Twitter for international news. However, Tanzania is not on the African top-twenty list of twitter users (Mo Ibrahim Foundation 2012:61).

In my hypothesis I claim that youth in Dar es Salaam have limited access to media, and that they are therefore inhibited to engage in politics. However, I cannot continue to claim that youth have limited access to media when twenty-two out of twenty-three youth had access to radio, and twenty-two youth also had access to TV. The one youth who did not have access to radio had access to TV, and the one youth who did not have access to TV had access to radio. I would, however, point out that youth have limited access to social media, which can facilitate important platforms for political discussion.

4.3 Traditional political engagement

One young man told me “The engagement has been traditional: attending rallies and meetings”, and the respondent continued by saying it has been a very big growth in numbers of public rallies. Today, youth are attending more rallies. However, men more than women; “It is much seen as a male thing. It is like football”. He continued; “People associate it (politics) with bad things such as killings and corruption. Maybe that is why women are not as attracted to it”.

Youth still engage in traditional ways, meaning public meetings and discussions, and political campaigns in the streets or other public places. Ten out of twenty-three people said they had attended a political campaign.

However, a difference between political campaign and demonstration needs to be pointed out. Only five interviewees had been to a demonstration.

The youth were also asked if they had been members of any political organization. The answers were almost fifty-fifty. Twelve answered yes, while eleven had not been a member. However, they should have been asked if they had held a member card from any political organization, because it seemed like some of the youth did not distinguish between a registered member, and an unregistered supporter. This was clear when they talked about how they had participated as a member; “Internet”, “I did not participate. In Tanzania we support parties, but we do not go to meetings or campaigns. We do not know why. I think it is a problem”, or, “I want to start to go to meetings”. Many Tanzanians go to political campaigns and meetings, which is shown in the News on TV.

One youth who was engaged in a political party told me how youth participated in traditional ways today in Dar es Salaam; "They organize rallies and dialogues outside party mainstream, on their own. They do community activities, for example cleaning the environment etc. They can organize a football match to get the message across". Youth like games and sports, so they set up a match to send out their political message.

The problematic aspect of a traditional participation is that it is very visible way to engage. One youth who had not been to a political campaign reasoned it by saying, "I have heard and seen that a lot of bad things happen to people who go. I do not dare".

5.0 Conclusion

This master's thesis has provided an understanding of the complex and challenging situation youth are situated within, which often can be shaped by the term Honwana (2012) refers to as waithood. My somewhat pessimistic hypothesis, which was formed before I conducted fieldwork in Dar es Salaam, was a result of this seemingly hopeless life situation. Fortunately, after I had returned home after data collection things did not seem as hopeless as I thought it would.

To say that youth in Dar es Salaam are interested in politics would be to generalize, however, it would not be exaggerating. The youth show that they care about the current situation as well as current news and events, and that they enjoy talking about politics. However, the low level of education limits their ability to develop their political interest and further engage in politics. It was clear that youth that could be characterized as elite had a better understanding and a clearer picture of the current state of Tanzania, with all its aspects and events.

When youth engage in politics, they may engage in several different ways. Social media has become a platform for political discussions, mostly utilized by the elite with easier access to computers and smartphones. Yet, youth are also still engaging in traditional political ways, such as street rallies. This applies first and foremost to youth that are not defined as elite, and may come from lower income families. Rap has also been given an important role for political distribution and engagement for youth in Perullo's (2005) previous research. Rap and hip-hop, called Bongo Flava when regarding Tanzanian hip-hop, is important to youth. However, they do not necessarily think that they engage in politics by listening to music. It does seem that the music can work as a vent for the youth that lets out steam, which is a result of frustrating challenges that many youth may encounter. In that way youth share experiences, and feel connected to each other through rap and hip-hop.

However, there are phenomena that can have an inhibiting effect on youth, such as culturally rooted hierarchical relationships where youth have to show a submissive behavior towards elders. Youth may also fear negative consequences that arise as a result of political engagement, which includes among other things supernatural consequences, as well as limitations of educational and work opportunities.

My inference to this research is therefore that some youth, some more than others, are engaged. However, it does seem like people with higher education possess more political knowledge, and are not as frightened to engage. At the same time those are the people who use social media, often with fake profiles, to hide their identities and avoid expected possible consequences. It also seems like media in general, especially radio and TV, are important sources of political information for youth.

The context of the youth who do not engage seems complex and includes several factors contributing to making youth disengaged, such as lack of knowledge, fear, and the difficulty of approaching a new political context. Tanzania is still a young developing democracy, which the youth is characterized by. The youth is not yet thinking in political terms that would make them able to utilize the opportunities that can only be done through political engagement sparked by political interest, which should be found in a democratic state.

I hope this thesis is a valuable contribution to the interesting and increasingly relevant field of research that youth and politics constitute. The field is complex and comprehensive, and it needs to be emphasized as important because it regards the masses of people in the world that can be defined as youth, as well as the democratization process and political liberalization.

By applying this research as a point of emphasis in further academic research as well as actions carried out by NGOs and other actors, it can hopefully contribute to making youths' political position and influence rightfully stronger.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Overview of respondents from different areas in Dar es Salaam⁵

Youth	Sex	Y.O.B	Religion	Occupation	Level of education	Mother's education	Father's education
1	Female	1994	Christian	Has a job	Some secondary	Some secondary	Finished secondary
2	Male	1994	Christian	Student	Finished secondary	Degree from college/university	Degree from college/university
3	Male	1992	Muslim	Has a job	Some secondary	Finished primary school	Finished secondary
4	Male	1989	Christian	Looking for a job	University degree	Finished primary school	Some secondary
5	Female	1994	Muslim	House work	Some secondary	Finished primary	Finished primary
6	Male	1984	Muslim	Has a job	Finished primary	Finished primary	Do not know
7	Male	1991	Christian	Student	Some secondary	Finished primary	Finished primary
8	Male	1989	Muslim	Looking for a job	Some secondary	Finished primary	Finished primary
9	Female	1988	Christian	Looking for a job	University degree	Finished primary	Finished primary
10	Female	1986	Christian	House work	Some secondary	Some primary	Some primary
11	Female	1984	Christian	House work	Finished primary	Finished primary	Finished primary
12	Female	1980	Muslim	Has a job	Some primary	Finished primary	Finished primary
13	Male	1994	Christian	Student	Some secondary + technical training	Finished primary	Finished primary
14	Female	1983	Christian	House work + looking for job	Finished primary	Finished primary	Finished primary
15	Female	1992	Muslim	Has a job	Some secondary	Unknown	Unknown
16	Female	1986	Muslim	House work + looking for job	Some secondary	Finished primary	Degree from college/university
17	Male	1988	Christian	Has a job	University degree	Finished secondary	Finished secondary
18	Male	1989	Christian	Looking for a job	University degree	Finished primary	Some secondary
19	Male	1985	Muslim	Has a job	Some secondary + technical training	Some primary	Degree from university/college
20	Male	1982	Christian	Has a job	No education	No education	No education
21	Male	1994	Christian	Student and job	Finished secondary +	Some secondary	Some university

⁵ The overview only includes respondents that participated in structured interviews

21	Male	1994	Christian	Student and job	Finished secondary + technical training	Some secondary	Some university
22	Female	1992	Christian	Has a job	College Diploma	Some secondary	Some college

Appendix 2: Structured interview guide/questionnaire

Background

Your Sex? _____Female _____Male

What year were you born? _____

What religion do you follow? _____

What is your occupation?

I am a student	
I am a student in addition to having a job	
I have a job	
I don't have a job but I do house work at home	
I am looking for a job	
I am not working or looking for a job	

If you are a student, at what level?

Some primary school	
Finished primary school	
Some secondary school	
Finished secondary school	
Vocational or technical training after secondary school	
Vocational or technical training	
Some college or university	
Finished a degree in college or university	

What level of education does your parents have?

Level of education	Mother	Father
No education. He/she never went to school		
Some primary school		
Finished primary school		
Some secondary school		
Finished secondary school		
Vocational or technical training after secondary school		
Vocational or technical training		
Some college or university		
Finished a degree in college or university		
Don't know		

How many children do you have? _____

Are you in a relationship? _____ **Yes** _____ **No**

What is your family and living situation?

I live at home with my family	
I live by my self	
I live together with friends	
Me and my children live together with my family	
Me, my partner and the children live with my family	
Me and my partner live with my partner's family	
Me, my partner and the children live with my partner's family	
I live home and the children lives with my partner	

Are you happy with your living and family situation? _____

Why?

Do you look at yourself as an

Youth	
Adult	
Something in between	
I don't know	

Do you have plans for the future? _____

Does the plan include

Job	
School	
Marriage	
Kids	
Buying a house	

If you had to make a decision to get married or not, what would be important factors?

What do you see as your biggest challenge in life?

How can Tanzanian youth change or affect their future?

Culture

What do you think about the elders?

Have you ever disagreed with elders? _____ Yes _____ No

If yes, did you say it? _____ Yes _____ No

If yes: how? / If no: why not?

Is it okay to discuss with elders? _____ Yes _____ No

What would happen if youth discuss politics and disagree with elders?

Political knowledge

Where did you learn about politics?

What is the voting age in Tanzania? _____

How often is it presidential election?

What is the current president of Tanzania?

How many years is the presidential period? _____

How many periods can the same president be elected for? _____

What are the names of the three biggest political parties in Tanzania?

Does everyone have the right to vote?

What political system does Tanzania follow?

What is good /not good with the democratic system?

Political engagement

Have you voted during an election? _____ Yes _____ No

Why did you/did you not vote?

Will you vote in the next election? _____ Yes _____ No

Why ?

Who do you talk to about politics?

How often do you talk about politics with friends or family?

_____ Never _____ Rarely _____ Sometimes _____ Often _____ Don't know

Do you enjoy talking about politics? _____ Yes _____ No

Why? /Why not?

Where do you have access to Radio?

**Where do you have access to
TV?**

**When do you listen to the
radio?**

**Do you listen to the
News?**

**When do you watch
TV?**

—

**Do you watch the
News?**

—

Do you read the newspaper? _____ Yes _____ No _____ Sometimes

Do you have access to a computer with Internet?

Do you have access to Internet through your phone?

Do you have a user on Facebook? _____ Yes _____ No

Do you have an email? _____ Yes _____ No

Do you listen to music? _____ Yes _____ No

Do you listen to rap music? _____ Yes _____ No

**Do you engage in politics through any of the things we just talked about? Which of them
and how?**

—

Have you been to a political campaign?

If yes, how was it?

If no, why not?

Have you been to a political demonstration? _____ Yes _____ No

If yes, how was it?

If no, why not?

Have you been a member of any political organizations?

Why? Why not?

If yes, how did you participate?

Do you have friends who are active in politics?

Do you have the same political views as your parents?

How popular is it to listen to political songs? What singers have political songs?

What is the most used way to engage in politics for youth? Do they use traditional or modern ways?

When is politics mentioned at religious meetings?

Do people affiliated with your religion have an impact on your political views?

Appendix 3: “2030” by Roma Mkatoliki (n.d) English version

Be aware that some of the local meaning that lies in specific Swahili words and slang has been lost in translation from Swahili to English. That means that not all of the sentences make sense when reading them in English.

VERSE 1:

You cannot build Rome, it was not built in one day. Whether for happiness today or Simba Mtoto Tanga⁶ they will come. Even Pacho is also a rock but still shakes his ass. North without Tanga is like Msondo without Ngurumo.

He said he would build a church on the rock that never will be shaken, believers lets start the mass. In the hunger they eat chicken slaughtered by a priest hewallah, the call for pray blowing awake and pray Allah.

Brother in law turn to your God, Masanja⁷ became a priest. Pray in Mecca and Madina rich does not want prayers Maulid⁸ Ubungo⁹ Kibangu¹⁰ that is the salary of Islamic colleges “Madrasa”. See the priest friend became a church accountant.

Contacts they give each other relatively my son, grow so you could visualize them. Family lost everything and mother remains widow. I did not have Arab blood that will inherit buses. Father did not give the basics. See the car, we use it as a taxi. See Gongo la Mboto¹¹, a baby got a baby and who would take care of it while the father is jailed in Keko¹². Give them a thousand so they could kill hunger those Morocco children. God will increasingly protect you and tomorrow you will see the Sabbath.

Port old man has retired, he only built a small hut, and he has three wives so what will the children inherit? That is a beginning of witchcraft, to throw each other “majin” demons. When this one hire Makata, that one hire Maimuna Subian¹³.

⁶ Mtoto Tanga is the name of a bus company

⁷ Masanja is a comedian

⁸ Maulid refers to a Muslim celebration

⁹ Ubungo is an area located in Dar es Salaam

¹⁰ Kibangu is a small place located in Ubungo

¹¹ An area in Dar es Salaam

¹² Keko is the name of a prison in Dar es Salaam

¹³ Makata and Maimuna Subian are Tanzanian girl names

Meaning money makes us not to wander with relatives. Money led to discrimination between Loyola and Pugu, money aside a beef of Nice and Dudu and money ended conflict between Ruge and Sugu.

CHORUS

VERSE 2

Believe I say youth is a hot water baby, buried mother today mother burry her child. That mother said not propose to a Machame¹⁴, Muraa¹⁵ slow down swords bringing a proposal to Tarime¹⁶.

Filthy sea, today Pemba¹⁷ respect cloves. Dangerous like Nungwi¹⁸ captain is not Kirikuu¹⁹. Yakhee²⁰ throw boat to me rock not anthill. This is Msambaa conflict Mbondei²¹ do not step in.

Seen during period of parliament in Dodoma, smells like sex. When the speaker of the parliament adjourn the parliament many will support strikes. Parliament officers are demanding an allowance so they could bribe our sisters. There are students of Mama Salma²² in universities, do not play around barefoot.

Zanzibarian does not see the meaning of this union. But to burn church is not a way of breaking testament. I do not see the reason of discrimination and killing of innocent. While the one who mixed the sand, sand you already buried him.

What kind of a Muslim are you who are bribing Bongo movie millions. Mother is dying Mwaisela²³ does not get drip of quinine. It is better to build mosques to value our prophets. Too much lust to sustain life of musicians' dancers.

¹⁴ Machame is the name of a tribe that comes from Kilimanjaro region located in the north of Tanzania

¹⁵ Muraa is the name of a tribe from Tarime district

¹⁶ Tarime is a district located in the north of Tanzania

¹⁷ Pemba is an island and a part of Zanzibar

¹⁸ Nungwi is the northern part of the island Unguja, which is a part of Zanzibar

¹⁹ Kirikuu refers to little people

²⁰ Yakhee is a zanzibarian saying

²¹ Msambaa and Mbondei are tribes from Tanga region

²² Mama Salma refers to the First Lady

²³ A local place in Tanzania

You are clean during holly month and you are erotic the coming month. If the holly Quran was reviled by God then lets go to mosques. The once mocking the Quran perhaps they do not know the church. So banning of the church is like selling bible in Dubai.

Do not fear to loose one for the better meant of the many. There is not peace in Tanzania but we are under the umbrella of fear. Sacrifice for your son and daughter, get motivation. The blood you shed doctor Ulimboka²⁴ should mobilize liberation.

Mkinga²⁵ do not sacrifice your mother for the wealth. A lot of people died with their dreams. The son of today's President is not the same as the father of the nation's son. I cannot even afford the cheapest liquor, Rashid pass me some tobacco.

The driver purposely led the truck to an accident to sell the illegal oil. Ministers are leading poachers. Country is full of forest but still lacking furniture in schools. We consume a lot of fake things, where is Tanzanian Bureau of Standards?

Regional police commissioner, do not send the troops to ban CHADEMA's movement, Revenge will be upon Mwangosi's²⁶ shed, Iringa say Amen. Instead of wasting on investigation cases save the cancer victims, and on borders reject the refugees.

In Muhumbili²⁷, instead of operating my knee they operate my head. Mbeya citizens beaten hammer to sell bucher.

Amana abandoned children crying. Mwananyamala²⁸ they kill us and do not go to jail, jail goes kajala²⁹.

CHORUS:

Tanzania eeheh. My son grow so you could see more. Boss leave ominous stamp for go ahead. My country ooohhh. My son grow so you could see more. Traffic police, conflict with your wife has nothing to do with the road. Tanzania eeheh. My son grow so you could see more. Religionism of the presenters cost the pagan.

VERSE 3:

²⁴ Doctor Ulimboka was abducted and beaten while leading a strike by doctors in 2012

²⁵ Mkinga is a tribe from the southern province of Tanzania

²⁶ Mwangosi is a person from Iringa

²⁷ Muhumbili is a hospital in Dar es Salaam

²⁸ Mwananyamala is a hospital in Dar es Salaam

²⁹ Kajala is an actress

My voice will be heard until Oldonyo Lengai³⁰ and if I die burry me in Tanga³¹ and come by Shambalai³². You can kill me bro' but you will not kill what I am standing for. Do not be greedy with your father's heritage when cd4 levels drops.

They say I am not worth of an award, hahaha, this is ridiculous. Who is judging the awards, give Caesar what is due to Caesar. This is not Masaki is Ngaramtoni³³ where mom sells local brew. Music is full of stress every house has an artist. (Woyooo)

Yanga buried a goat in their goal polls while Simba³⁴ has an Owl. Leaders want enjoyment and not to win. Roomers has it Chuji³⁵ is washed out, stop being arrogant burn corns. He shine in local league's team official bares witness.

In rural we are so many, bring us the medical experts. Has HIV, they say lets go to the witch doctor. Living allowance used for bed making. Taking care of pregnancy is an easy job father to be, you are not prepared.

Students denied sex with the lecturer. Then you students are disqualified Carol takes care of the family with the education loan. Sorry for those who are seeking for C grade for the fourth year you are reciting while head master went to town because the school has no chalks.

Do not kill small miners for the investment benefit. You gave Boers all mines while University of Dar es Salaam has engineers. They give you containers of condoms so you could give out gold. When Mv. Spice³⁶ drowned televisions shows taarab.

They do not want to put tarmac road so that we could cross Busisi River. Driver, do not sacrifice me for the sake of your own boss. I have nothing to put ransom in institutional loans. Budget of farmers while the farmer do not see the market.

What is not there in Tanga raise up. Harbor is dead the railway road is dead. Makamba³⁷ raised sisal. While Zito³⁸ bewitched in Kasulu³⁹ we can bewitch him in Pangani⁴⁰.

³⁰ The maasais' holy mountain located in Tanzania

³¹ Tanga is both a city and a region

³² Shambalai is a bus company

³³ Ngaramtoni is a place located in Arusha Region in the north of Tanzania

³⁴ Yanga and Simba are two different Tanzanian football teams

³⁵ Chuji is a football player

³⁶ Mv. Spice was a ferry that sank outside Zanzibar in 2011

³⁷ Makamba is a politician

³⁸ Zito is a politician

³⁹ Kasulu is located in Kigoma region

Mrisho's⁴¹ mess make Benja⁴² look shiny. Do not trust too much of what you are reading because even the writers are bribed. Youth is the strength of the Nation but many are in the mental hospital Lutindi. And street people are damn broke, to an extent of selling their own kidney.

The post motam results are bought; judge and the lawyer are bribed and given piece of land at Kimara⁴³. Check how dollars buy the whole case and a poor person humble like a camel in front of judge of Kisutu⁴⁴.

⁴⁰ Pangani is in Tanga region

⁴¹ Mrisho refers to the current President Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete

⁴² Benja refers to the previous President Benjamin Mkapa

⁴³ Kimara is an area in Dar es Salaam region

⁴⁴ An administrative ward in the Ilala district of the Dar es Salaam region

Appendix 4: “2030” by Roma Mkatoliki (n.d), original Swahili version

Tanzania eehehh (Tongwe Records Baby)
nchi yangu ooohhhh...

VERSE 1

huwezi kuijenga roma haikujengwa kwa siku moja
iwe kwa raha leo au simba mtoto tanga watakuja
hata pacho pia ni mwamba ila bado anakata viuno
kaskazini bila tanga ni msondo bila gurumo

alisema juu ya mwamba atalijenga kanisa
na halitatikisika waumini tuianze misa
kwenye njaa kula kuku aliyechinjwa na padre hewallah
adhana ikilia amka ukamuombe allah!

bwaa sheikh mrudie Mungu masanja kawa mchungaji
sujudu mecca madina tajiri hataki kuhiji
maulid ubungo kibangu ndo mishahara ya madrasa
ona rafiki wa padre kawa muhasibu wa kanisa

tenda wanapeana kindugu mwanangu kua uyaone
familia ilikata ringi na mama alibaki mjane
sikuwa na damu ya kiarabu kwamba nitayarithi mabasi
dingi hakutupa msingi ona gari twaifanya taxi

tazama gongo la mboto mtoto kamzaa mtoto
na atalelewa na nani baba ake mmemfunga keko
wape buku waue winga wale watoto wa morocco
mungu atazidi kukulinda kesho utaiona sabato

mzee wa bandari kastaafu kajenga banda la uani
ana wake wa3 je watoto watarithi nini?
ndo chanzo cha kurogana na ku2piana majini
huyu akimpandisha makata yule maimuna subian

maana pesa ndo ilifanya tusiwe na tanga ndugu
pesa ilileta ubaguzi kati ya loyola na pugu
pesa ndo ilichochea beef ya nice na dudu
na pesa ndo ilimaliza vita ya ruge na sugu

CHORUS

VERSE 2

Aminini nawaambieni ujana ni maji ya moto mtoto
humzika mama leo mama anamzika mtoto
ndo maana mama alisema nisimchumbie mmachame
muraa shusha mapanga naileta posa tarime

leo bahari imechafuka mpemba haishemu karafuu
hatari kama nungwi nahodha sio kirikuu
yakhee nirushie mtumbwi mie mwamba sio kichuguu
hii ni vita ya msambaa mbondei usitie maguu

ona kipindi cha bunge dodoma inanuka ngono
spika akiahirisha bunge wengi watau-support mgomo
wabunge mnadai posho muhonge dada zetu
kuna wanafunzi wa mama salma vyuoni usicheze peku

wazanzibari hawaioni thamani ya huu muungano
ila kulichoma kanisa sio njia ya kuvunja agano
sioni sababu ya ubaguzi na kuua wasio na hatia
wakati aliochanganya mchanga mchanga umeshamfukia

muislamu gani unahonga bongo movie mamilioni
mama anakufa mwaisela kakosa dripu ya quinine
ni heri ujenge msikiti tuitukuze mitume
anasa za bakulutu unatunza wacheza sebene

unamuheshimu ramadhani unazini mbele ya shaban
kama ilishushwa quran twendeni misikitini
anaedhihaki msahafu pengine kanisa halijui
so kulichoma kanisa ni kuuza bible dubai

usihofu kumpoteza mmoja ili kumi waishi vema
watanzania tuna uoga sio amani mnadanganywa
sacrifice for your son and daughter amka kifikra
damu yako iwe chachu ya ukombozi dokta ulimboka

mkinga usimuue mama ili uongeze kipato
utajiri upo kaburini watu wamekufa na ndoto
eo ridhiwani haufanani na makongoro dah!!
sina hela ya kiroba rashidi nigongee ugoro

suka kaiangusha lori ya mafuta yote magendo
waziri anaziuza pembe za ndovu na meno ya tembo

nchi imejaa misitu tuna uhaba wa madawati
tunakula vitu feki TBS mko wapiii

RPC usitume kikosi ili uishushe chadema
italipwa damu ya mwangosi iringa semeni amina
okoa wagonjwa wa saratani mpakani zuia wakimbizi
kuliko kumwaga pesa kwenye tume za uchunguzi

Muhimbili naumwa goti eti dokta kapasua kichwa
mbeya wanapigwa nyundo ili raia wauze mabucha
amana wanatelekeza watoto wanalia mwananyamala
wanatuua na hawaendi jela Jela anakwenda Kajala

CHORUS

(Tanzania eeehhh)

mwanangu kua uyaonee boss acha kisirani gonga muhuri tuwahiii

(Nchi yangu ooohhh)

mwanangu kua uyaone Traffic hasira za mkeo barabarani hazifai

(Tanzania eeehhh)

mwanangu kua uyaone wanahonga mashabiki ngoma zao wazi-request

(Nchi yangu ooohhh)

mwanangu kua uyaone Udini wa ma-presenter wapagani unatucost

VERSE 3.

sauti hii itasikika mpaka oldonyo lengai
nikifa naomba nizekwa tanga na mje kwa shambalai
u can kill me bro but u wont kill what am standing for
usiutamani urithi wa baba ikimshuka cd4

eti tuzo sikustahili haa haaa hii ni hatari
tuzo ina chapa ya nani ya kaisari mpe kaisari
hii sio masaki ni ngaramtoni mama anaiuza dadii
muziki umejaa stress kila nyumba ina msanii..(woyoooo!!!)

yanga wamemfukia mbuzi golini simba ana bundi
viongozi wanataka umate umate hawaujali ushindi
utawasikia chuji kachuja kiburi choma mahindi
kapigwa ligi ya jogoo shahidi kamati ya ufundi

vijijini 2po wengi mleteni daktari bingwa
ana ngoma utasikia kalogwa twende kwa mganga
pesa za kujikimu ndo ulichongesha kitanda

kulea mimba sio mchezo ba kijacho haujajipanga

profesa kanyimwa penzi utasikia carol kadisco
carol analea ndugu kwa pesa ya bodi ya mikopo
poleni mnaotafuta C mwaka wa 4 mna risiti
huku headmaster kaenda mjini eti shule imeishiwa chaki

msiwaue wachimbaji wadogo geita inalia
kaburu umempa migodi udsu tuna engineers
unapewa contenta la condoms uionge dhahabu
mv spice ilipozama tv inaonyesha taarabu

kamanga hawaiweki lami ili 2vukie busisi
dereva usinitoe kafara ili utimize hesabu ya boss
sina cha kuweka rehani kwenye asasi za mikopo
bajeti ya kilimo kwanza mkulima silioni soko

tanga mmekosa nini amkeni acheni umwinyi
hawa wachaga hawatuwezi ona manka bara 20
bandari chanu relwe chali makamba iinue katani
zito akiroga kasulu si tunamrogea pangani

uchafu wa mrisho unafanya msafi aonekane benja
msisadiki magazeti waandishi wengi kanjanja
vijana ndo nguvu kazi ila wengi wamejaa lutindi
mitaani wamekata ringi hadi figo wanaziweka bondi

majibu ya postmotam ameshayanunua wakili
na hakimu kapewa kiwanja kimara apige kufuli
cheke dola wanainunua kesi napewa kapuku
nawa mpole kama ngamia mbele ya hakimu wa kisutu